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/For names appearing in myths see category 116, pp. 295-360 and pp. 619-692./

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rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere nicknames, so has *Älquntäm*, who is a superman, many names, according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to pray to *Älquntäm*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Mınakaıs* or *Tätä*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Älquntäm*, which in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Snxälotla*, *Mınakaıs*, *Smaialotla*, and *Nuxıkmälsaix* are one, but that *Älquntäm*, *Snuıslkäls*, and *Nonodjonostem* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Älquntäm*.

The most obvious attribute of *Älquntäm* is connected with the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Älquntäm* enters the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

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hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Alquntăm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Alquntăm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmăt·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first ancestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmăt·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

Nusmăt·a is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid reflected faces clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Anilxsaix*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nasqalät-a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs.

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home.

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years

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Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and immaterial, in tune with *Älquntăm*'s in the land above. One method of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Älquntăm*'s own basin. Such feats are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Älpälxe-lexlaix*.

It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

Prayers are regularly addressed to *Älquntăm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mînaklai* or *Tătă*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mînaklai* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Potles*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Ălquntăm*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying

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551 with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function,
428 but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or *vice versa*, in some cases with a minor alteration. [756] The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

551 Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a
773 number of designations from above, but they also created a
553 number on this earth and bestowed them on their children, and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost parental interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

553 Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1] Such a name is a *smaüks skwaüsta*, or "Petrified Name."
[2] Such a name is a *sumanü-a skwaüsta*, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was incumbent on any particular relative.

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614 553 178 773 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 614 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 424 551 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thenceforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership. [554]

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If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[1] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him.

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If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

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[1] In case of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
601 [614] Female relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker	.....	.....
Child	.....	.....
Son, until twelve or thirteen years old	.....	.....
[551]	*Tsi*, a term of endearment used for any small child, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	
Son, when adult	By name, or *djuxtskai*.	By name or *smult* (man).
Daughter, until twelve or thirteen years of age	*Tsi*, a term of endearment used for any small girl, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	
Daughter, when adult	By name; infantile term of endearment is also sometimes used.	By name.
Stepchild	Same as for own child.	
Brother's child or Sister's child	Usually by same terms as own children, merely as a mark of endearment; also *emis*. Corresponding to the use of *djuxtskai* where *skuat* is strictly applicable, *sapinay* is used in some cases instead of *emis*.	*emis*. Depending on the composition of the family, this term is in many cases applied to the children of an *emis* if they form part of the family group.
Son's child or Daughter's child	Usually as for own child, or by name, or *skwutskuksis*. This last is merely the term for indirect address, with the endearing suffix, *ksis*.	*skwutz*
Descendants	.....	*kwaidjut* or *skwaidjut*. Terms used rhetorically to describe a man with many descendants. The latter term means "manyness."
[614] Family	.....	community the ancestral family, those who claim descent from one group of ancestors, even though their exact relationship has been forgotten.

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554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
* 556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
[773] first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
[551] of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat.
[171] Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications that such may once have been customary, are found in the feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression, "He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be "covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
[424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods that have been expended. Several men may have positions at practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of one person infringing on the location of another. A parent who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

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the food and goods distributed, since it was winter and the people were in dire straits on account of the destruction of all their stores. In consequence, the uncle decided to make a new name for his nephew, *Skāmi*, "Charred Wood." By virtue of the goods expended this name became an honourable title, and was maintained by lavish presents. Any similar incident connected with a potlatch can be made the origin of a designation. Another example of a manufactured name is one derived from a peculiarity of the man giving the potlatch. A number of years ago a chief was jeered at by his associates on account of the frequency with which he had to visit the toilet. When next he gave a potlatch he created the name *Āpstel·a*, "The Toilet One," and gave great dignity to the designation by presents.

Since a seat is valuable only on account of the goods expended in obtaining it with respect to a certain name, it is obvious that names and seats are closely associated. A man who wishes his son to succeed to his own location in the house seats the youth, as has been described, at his feet. It may be a matter of years before he actually takes his father's position, but during that time he is treated with respect; he is still a commoner, but it is recognized that his parent considers him likely to "make good" and become a true chief by ability to give presents. Should he fail to do so, inexorably his influence wanes, in spite of his name and duly validated seat. He keeps the latter, but it is no longer considered one of importance. Thus, too, the course of names from generation to generation is a series of curves; sometimes one is on a pinnacle of glory when "made strong" by a powerful chief, but in the next generation it may fall to the dust through ownership by a weakling. As the Bella Coola express it: It has become hermaphroditized.

A woman is rarely established in a seat, and usually only when a chief has no sons or other near male descendants. In such a case she receives an ancestral name and has the same status as a male chief. At the present time one important

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554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as ones
* 556 for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
562 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
[553] assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in
● [551] origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the common designations of women. Cases are known in which a woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has allowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
* 556 tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
622 man's influence in the community has become so great that
[352] he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person having one made for him before he has given the requisite number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[626] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong deterrent to a proud young man.

[532] On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
[352] in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in contact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the display is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these, likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[1]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *numitl* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[1] Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Sisaok Society

The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions record other designations as well, each of which carries with it the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *sisaok*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *sisaok* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way a number of times, acquiring a new *sisaok* name on each occasion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *sisaok* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaok* secret society.

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates.

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaok* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently

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177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking, even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Sisaok* names are willed and inherited in the manner already described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

* 556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *sisaok* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "potlatch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents, and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dsämänumtnum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dsämänumtnum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xläxtnum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dsämänumtnum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth.

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual.

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first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks. 203 556*

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Älquntäm* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Qäqät'li* who was a member of *Xemcua*'s (I, p. 326) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olḳdimut* who came with *ɯyuyuyut* (I, p. 329). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kusiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake. 203 773 551 [428]

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 203 553 556* 614 424

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556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimɣ* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łālia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łālia* or *taitaimɣ* could be used indiscriminately.

Łālia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon- [776] like being, *sɔsiutł*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *sɔsiutł* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of [177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

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424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
"become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
* 556 bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his pre-
rogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation,
whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in
antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Ălquntăm* as expressed
to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special
name; others, lacking these, created them through their own
enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed pro-
* 556 fessional name has been able to perform the functions of the
prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *kusiut*, *ɬsaok*, and other
types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by
their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by
any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case,
the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and
suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the oppor-
tunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager
to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained
by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral
family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in
question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

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In the beginning of time, *Ălquntăm* is said to have sent down with *Ɬsil*, who landed on the mountain behind *Ɬomɢo·ɬs*,

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a man, *ux·winaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux·winaisa* has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been enforced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
[177] into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
●551 natural beings, whether in *ssaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
[575] women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[463] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[431] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
[773] prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Älquntäm*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nunuqwelelslaiɣen·a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
463 time, *Smaoan* of Kimsquit married *Tläkwaitl*, the daughter of
773 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stlxwaxwaknimăn·a*, another is *Ɬo'yɔ*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is

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224 424 [463] [551] [555] [556] 224 424 184 [177] 223 424

THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. One of the latter is *Lelaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nuxalxiq* to catch geese at *Tāl·io*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *sisaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

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Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqwal* for his name *Sinxälotła* which came to earth with *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tłaiyäkam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuxetl* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tłaiyäkam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'tälao*.

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The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[1] long, long ago, *Älqunitäm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sunxn-a*, and a mortal; so he

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[1] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Bo'ostom* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the land above and made his way to his grandfather, *Ălquntăm*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve [821] him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase.[10]

Next day *Ălquntăm* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the malicious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened at dawn by the suffocating warmth. *Bo'ostom*'s son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and ocean. *Sıxan·a* had realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the planks on her house. Thus protected, those within [825] survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Ălquntăm* felt the heat and hurried home.

"You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Hence- [825] forth you shall live on earth as a mink."

Ălquntăm seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world was repopulated from the single household. Each of them took an *a'alk* 551 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to another of the descendants of each until this day. One of these, a 575 *nuıqwal* name, is *Stalḳalosam*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *Haiyăkam, ıxnukwnalsaix*, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Skumi*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

539 The following Kimsquit story[11] describes the obtaining of
575 an *a'alk* prerogative in the distant past.

[10] For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.
[11] Related by Jim Pollard.

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Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anokokwläls*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Älkwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Älkwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling.

A few years after *Älkwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Suxwlk*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Älkwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Älkexa* and the third *O'miäsl*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anokokwläls*.

Älkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Älkwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Älkwi* watched the performance of a *nusqual* dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anokokwläls*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers.

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anokokwläls*. They hurried

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ălkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ălkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anokokwĕls* was a good place for a ceremony because *Ălkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[11] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ălkwi* danced
[535] a *nusqwal* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nusqwal* dance.

In later years, *Ălkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that
[551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nustakwalămi*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ălkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcopinătl*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcopinătl*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *sisaok*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[12] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

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[11] These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[12] This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. 1.

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rite, *nusäxkämx*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for *nusäxkämx*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *nusäxkämx* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *nusäxkämx* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Ťopiwac*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Qplon*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nusäxkämx* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nusäxkämx* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nusäxkämx* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

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* 539 and Q̓wax, the Raven. The former flew ahead to clear a path down the mountain slope for *Yuyulk"mai*. At that time there was no sun, everything was dark and bleak. As they descended the mountain, they remembered that they had forgotten to bring from above the sticks for making fire which *Sınx* had promised them. So Raven assumed the form of a deer, returned to the upper regions, collected the desired appliances, and rejoined his companions below. *Sınx* had given *Yuyulk"mai* a stone hammer to use in making a salmon-weir, so he chose a site near the river, where the village of *Ālqālāxl* now stands, and built a house of evergreen boughs. The perpetual gloom annoyed Raven so that he determined to release light, *sx̣em*, which he knew was in a container in the house above. Once again he ascended and succeeded in uncovering the light of the sun which has since shone forth on this world. From this Raven took for himself the name, *Q̓unq̓wınım ulidilā sx̣em*.

When *Yuyulk"mai* awoke after the first night in his new house, he found a salmon-weir ready for him, built by *Sınx* while he was sleeping. That night he slept again, but nothing had altered in the morning.

* 539 During the day, *Sınx* appeared to *Yuyulk"mai*, saying:

● 551 "I bring you the name, *Sınxālotla*. When you give a potlatch, carve my face on your totem-pole."

The next day *Sınx* came again.

"I bring you the name, *Sınxākila*," he said. "When you give a potlatch, carve my face on the bench where the chiefs sit."

The third day *Sınx* appeared once more, saying:

"I bring you the name, *Ānuxemlaix*. When you give a potlatch, paint my face on the back wall of your house."

Next day *Sınx* appeared in the form of a stump with numerous radiating roots, scoured and polished by the river.

"You will have the name *Alq̓exq̓i'djut*,"[1] he said. "If you find a hammer used in the construction of salmon-weirs, you will know that other people are living above you on the river. Put abalone-shell on the hammer."

* 539 With these instructions *Sınx* went away and never came back.

In course of time, when the population of the earth increased, *Yuyulk"mai* became rich and invited the people to a potlatch. The name he used on this occasion was *Sınxālotla* and he carved the face of *Sınx* on his totem-pole, as he had been instructed to do. A few years later he gave another potlatch, with the name *Sınxākila*, and this time he carved *Sınx*'s face on the bench where the chiefs sat. When he gave

[192]

[1] Meaning, "A glance downwards." It is the word used when a person looks downwards between his legs, or over his shoulders, a reference to the manner in which *Sınx*, from aloft, watches the actions of mortals.

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his third rite he validated the name *Ănuxemlaix*, and he had *Sınx*'s face painted on the back wall of his house. *Yuyulk"mai*'s fourth and last potlatch was given in the name of *Ałqexqi'djut*. This time he erected as a totem-pole a bare stick, presumably in reference to the appearance of *Sınx* as a tree-trunk.[5]

When *Yuyulk"mai* came to Mount *Nus·mătllaix* he was accompanied by his old father, *Ťciknutl*, his younger brother *Diqom'notl*, and a still younger sister, *Kimilkăn*. These three went away at once to the Skeena River, taking with them some of the large cone-shaped whistles which they had brought with them as a present from the supreme god. The people living on the Skeena desired these articles so greatly that they quarrelled and fought for them, disgusting *Ťciknutl* and *Kimilkăn* so much that they determined to return.[5] But *Ťciknutl* was too old to travel. His daughter had a copper upon which she thrust her aged father, and then placed it firmly against the under side of a rock which was suspended without visible support a few feet above the ground. *Ťciknutl* was wedged between boulder and copper, and there he died. *Kimilkăn* retraced her steps back to Bella Coola, to the summit of Mount *Nus·mătllaix*, whence she took flight back to the land above.

Meanwhile *Diqom'notl* was prospering. He lived in a copper shelter on the shore of a river with a copper raven, *Snuqwaxwăls*, perched on the roof of his house where it could peer over the edge into the river beneath to see the salmon, *Snusımkăls*, and the salmon, *Snusımlkănk'*. *Diqom'notl* was able to give potlatches at which he made for himself the name *Ao·sti*, and the *sısaok* name, *Łăliămx*. One of the songs which he used was composed as if it were sung by the copper itself: the themes of others were *Snuqwaxwăls*, *Snusımkăls*, and *Snusımlkănk'*.

At last *Diqom'notl* became weary of the Skeena and determined to visit *Yuyulk"mai*. Travelling in a copper canoe he soon reached the mouth of the *Pe·sıls* where he found no one. From this experience he created for himself the name, *U·sḥăxus*, which means, "There is Nothing." *Diqom'notl* proceeded on foot to *Sınxl*, where he met *Yuyulk"mai* to whom he told his adventures.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ałqălăxl*[7]

In the beginning there came down to the western slope of Mount *Nus·mătllaix* three brothers, whose names, in relative order of their ages,

[5]The names which occur in this myth are still in use.

[5]Another version states that they married and settled on the Skeena where their descendants still live; it is said that their origin myths record their Bella Coola ancestry.

[7]Related by Mrs. Webber.

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From this he took for himself the name, *Yelyulhuslaix*, "The Face Cleanser." 539*

According to another informant the first settler at *Ălqălăxl* was *Xemxemtnum* who brought with him a moosehide and a model of *Nusmăt·a*. He set up this house and it expanded or contracted according to his wish.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Slskistl*[9]

Among the first people to be sent down to this earth was *Ḳril*. For some time he lived on the north side of the Bella Coola River near its mouth; then with his sister, *Ănusyalaix*, and a herald he moved across to *Slskistl*, at the base of the mountain on the south shore of the river. He had a daughter who married a son of *Xemxemtnum*, living on the north side of the river. To their child he gave the name *Noamtăxaik*.

About this time *Ălkwi*, a *Snulle·tl* chief, lost *Alqtcălas*, a stake decorated with abalone-shells which he used for his salmon-trap. It floated down into *Ḳril*'s country where *Ănusyalaix* saw it, and advised her brother to take possession of it. *Ḳril* did so gladly because of its beautiful decoration, without knowing what it was or whence it came. He took it home and displayed it to many of his neighbours, but no one could tell him what it was. In honour of this event *Ḳril* gave his son the name *Alqtcălas*, which has since been handed down in his family. *Ălkwi* followed downstream after his stake, but failed to overtake it before *Ḳril* had obtained it; so it was never returned to its rightful owner. [551]

FRAGMENT OF A *Ḳomqo·ts* ORIGIN MYTH[10]

In the beginning *Ălqunătăm* sent down from *Nusmăt·a* to Mount *Nus·lăxum*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River, about one and a half miles from the sea, four brothers: the eldest, *Xemlaix* or *Laqwomais*; the second whose name is unknown; the third, *unlḳalam*; and the youngest, *ux·wunaisa*. They each came in the form of some animal, bringing with them a miniature salmon-weir, which they set up in the river near where they had settled. *ux·wunaisa* had brought with him the prerogative of punishing violators of taboos connected with the river. The four brothers lived for some time at the base of the mountain until jealousy arose among them and the eldest moved to *Ḳomqo·ts*. There he caught innumerable salmon in the river so he was soon able to give them to people all over the world. It seemed as if the earth were tilted so that all its [551]

[9] Fragmentary version related by Judas.
[10] Related by Albert King.

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wealth flowed in upon him; accordingly he took for himself the name *Sitâlusâx* which has this significance. Since he was the eldest and chief of the four brothers the name has always been considered the most exalted in *Xemqo·ts*.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Snaloli*[11]

In the beginning of time *Âlqunâtsm* created the forefathers of all mankind in his house above and then asked each in what form he wished to go to earth. A number of bird and animal cloaks were hanging on the walls of the house, and each was invited to take his choice. One whose name was *Kâlîtâx* chose the raven. When he had donned the garment he became a raven. Slowly he circled down from above in long spirals, carrying with him his two younger brothers and a sister, all in raven form, as a bird carries its young. He set down the two small brothers on the top of a flat mountain near *Snaloli* where he told them to remain, adding:

"I am going to the east but will return."

He brought back some abalone-shells, which he set down near the diminutive ravens, saying:

"Stay here, I am going to the west but will return."

This time he brought back with him some copper, that flashed in the sun.

Kâlîtâx and his two brothers now assumed human form and sent their raven cloaks floating back to the land above. This was what happened to all the bird and animal forms used by the first people. The three descended the mountain and built their house by the Bella Coola River at the spot now known as *Snaloli*. *Kâlîtâx* had brought with him a mountain goat, which, when set at liberty, bred with great rapidity, so that these first *Snaloli* people subsisted largely on goat flesh, the provision made for them by *Âlqunâtsm*. In some inexplicable manner it appears that the supernatural hunter *Tsuaîlîlit*, whose other name is *Lalemîle*, "The One Who Throws Down [Goats]," had come with this group. *Kâlîtâx* had such success in hunting that he was able to give a potlatch and bestow valuable presents of goat meat, goat grease, and woollen blankets. At this ceremony he took for himself the name, *Kâlîlîtemdimat*, "The Copper One," because when returning from the west the raven had covered himself with copper, so that it seemed as if he were made of it."

During his lifetime, though whether before or after his potlatch, it is impossible to state, *Kâlîtâx* determined to obtain light for mankind,

[11] Related by Joshua Moody.

[12] This name has since been used by the descendants of *Kâlîtâx*.

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act as guide against his masters. The man led in the party under cover of a fog which lifted at an inopportune moment, but the slave deceived the Fort Rupert Indians into believing that his comrades were not hostile. *Kāmālxoaʸ* rewarded the guide with a marten-skin coat and one of marmot-skins. 539*

When he gave a potlatch, *Kāmālxoaʸ* had the back wall of his house decorated with pictures of sun and moon, while he himself wore a grizzly bear-skin with its head above his own. As he danced, there rose through the floor a large box on which was painted a raven. *Kāmālxoaʸ* went to the receptacle and took from it sufficient presents to supply the requirements of the visitors from one tribe, the Bella Bella, for example. Then the box would sink from sight, only to reappear with gifts for another group; this was repeated as many times as there were parties of guests from outside places. This was the method of procedure decreed by *Alquntam*.

These first *Nusq̓alxt* people made a number of special objects for their potlatches. As a representation of the five-peaked mountain beneath which they lived, they erected five peaks over the front of their house, a custom which has been carried out until the present day. Projecting from one of them was a figure of a mountain goat, since that animal was brought to earth to serve as food by their first ancestors. They also made a number of large stone spoons, which, after being used for many generations, were buried with a certain *Paitx* about 1875. These utensils were of a type used by *Nusq̓alxt* before he became a mountain, and were later copied by the carpenter-masons. [424] [415]

Kāmālxoaʸ was so powerful that he altered a *xiaak* rite of his potlatch into a *kusiut* dance, changed *Nuxmāt-a* to a *kusiut* name, and decreed that the repository should be under the spot where his house stood. For this ceremonial he always used a whistle with the voice of a raven.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nusq̓alxt*
(*Second version dealing with another settlement*)[12]

Nusq̓alxt is a chief among mountains. Like a human leader, it has several names, *Tsēkwaēkx*, *Sāsaētlem*, and others; these names belong to several persons now living. Like a person, too, the mountain was sent down from above at the beginning of the world to *Tcewas*, Bute Inlet, whence it moved to its present position midway up the Bella Coola valley, a location which it had heard was a pleasant one. [551]

[12] Related by Captain Schooner.

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* 539 In course of time, as they grew wealthy, they were able to summon people from far and near for potlatches. This in turn enabled them to validate several names which they had brought from above. *Ălquntăm* had given *Nusmăłurwai* a box containing whistles for *kusiut* rites. He used these and bestowed on one of his sisters the name *Nuwarmway*, a *kusiut* designation still in existence. When the roof of the house was opened light shone through, from which circumstance the name *Szuut* was acquired at one of their annual potlatches. Not only was *Nusmăłurwai* able to validate designations which *Ălquntăm* had given him, but he created several new ones as well. He gave to his sisters the names *Kălxsmăknum* and *Xpkmxpmăn-a*; the latter means "Rising Dust," with reference to the dust rising from the floor of the house as *Nusmăłurwai* threw down the mooschides which he was about to give away to his guests.

● [551] All the names mentioned in this myth have been preserved. That of *Nusmăłurwai* is held in especial esteem by the people of *Stuix*. It means "Head of the River," referring to the point where he came to this [552] earth. Even *Thmstadimut* is still in use, applied to a dog as the owner has no children.

THIRD ORIGIN MYTH OF *Stuix*[m]

In the beginning *Ălquntăm* sent down to *Smaiw-a*, at the head of the Clearwater, a branch of the Bella Coola River, four brothers, *Ălkwi*, *Dudusmy*[w], *Nănăiskwi*, and one whose name has been forgotten, with their sisters, *Kăwilkas* and *O'mielkas*. *Dudusmy*[w] had brought with him from above as a present from *Ălquntăm* some olachen in concentrated form and one of the large cone-shaped whistles used in *kusiut* ceremonials. The two women cried because they had no house. But presently they thought they were in one with a wonderfully painted roof; in reality it was the sky and the decorations were brightly shining stars. By means of their supernatural power, for they were not yet mortals, they reduced the firmament to such small compass that it was really a house to them, with the star-illuminated sky as roof. Taking this abode with them, the six set out next day for *Tsowat*, a point on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island. They travelled down the valley of a river which rises not far from the *Smaiw-a* source of the Bella Coola. *Ălkwi* and his relatives did not like the language of the people living at *Tsowat*, so they returned to *Smaiw-a*, taking with them some of the fine

[m] Related by Steamboat Annie.

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*539 before he came to this world. It was a large pole and stood across the
532 sidewalk from the house, not being pierced by the doorway. At the base was a grizzly bear, with paws wrapped around it as if desirous of climbing after the food which could be seen higher up. Immediately above the bear was an eagle's nest with four fledglings standing amid their broken eggshells and craning their necks eagerly upwards to greet the mother eagle flying back with a salmon. At the top of the pole was a ball, *Nuxpemda*, representing the container in which the sun was enclosed; it was this that Raven broke to release light to mortals. The name of the pole was *Ai-ikaut*."

[551] The names contained in this myth are still in use. *Kānilkut* was the relator of it; her *nusuk* song deals with *Smaiu-a* and, since the salmon enter Bella Coola River in hopes of reaching this place, salmon are used in the decorations of her house. The name *Dudzuxy*" varies; it becomes *Mūzuxy*" when applied to a youth, and *Mūzuxy*"*ax-a* for a girl.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Stalx*"

*539 Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, *Nulatūmaic*, in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carriers, and the rest. In it there lived too, all kinds of birds, including the thrush who taught each its song.
[829] The chief of the house, *Sūkum* by name, lived there too and gave to each tribe its special language. One day he decided to visit the earth, and dived from his house downwards, becoming the sun. In this guise he came to earth on Mount *Naya*, near *Stalx*, where he became a man and built for himself a house which was a copy of *Nulatūmaic*, and to which he gave the same name. *Sūkum* became prosperous and gave many potlatches.

FRAGMENT OF A *Snaik-il* ORIGIN MYTH"

In the beginning of time, *Alquntūm*, in guise of the sun, sent down to earth a number of brothers with their one sister. Their names have been forgotten except that of the oldest man, *Talabmala*, who had brought with him a beaver as provender. He released the animal, which multi-

[424] "As is commonly the case, there is no connection between this totem-pole and
[551] the adventures of *Albai*. The person using this name has the right to use these designs as a part of his myth, exactly as the right to recount the adventures of his namesake belongs to him.

"Fragmentary version, relator unrecorded.

"Related by Joshua Moody.

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plied to provide abundant food for all; it became the ancestor of all the beaver of the upper valley. Owing to their position higher up the Bella Coola, *Taiatwala* and his brothers considered that they were nearer to the sun than any of the people dwelling below, a fact of which they were exceedingly proud. Moreover, having been sent down by him, the sun was their crest.

There were two large boulders in the river near the settlement, which *Aquatim* had shown *Taiatwala* how to use as supports for a salmon-weir. With the help of his brothers, a hole was drilled in one of the rocks; then they felled a large tree upstream and allowed it to drift down until the butt lodged in the perforated boulder and the head swung across against the other. With this as base, other trunks were woven in upright so that the river was almost spanned and a fine dam constructed. In this they caught so many salmon that *Taiatwala* and his brothers were able to call people from far and near to potlatches and feast them liberally on the fish. In course of time their sister was married to a chief from another town. Henceforth, whenever one of her brothers gave a potlatch, he was able to rebuy his sister on a lavish scale with the teeming salmon. The sun had taught the woman a song for such occasions, which has since been used as a prerogative by her descendants when rebuying themselves from their husbands.

Taiatwala made a long voyage of exploration during which he reached the Skeena River. He made friends with the inhabitants of the town, *Kyawan*, who gave him the name, *Xwulbon*,[550] meaning *whale* in their language. Continuing his journey, he ultimately circled the earth before returning home. He obtained several other designations, including *Alkumka* from the Kwatna people.[551]

Years after the settlement of *Snaik'al*, the drilled stone supporting the salmon-weir broke and the ruins were swept away downstream. The people cut their hair and blackened their faces in mourning, then moved to *Sxuxz* where a number of their daughters had married chiefs.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nalneq*[552]

It is common to add details from a story to a family myth in order to increase its length and importance. Almost cer-

[550] It appears that *Xwulbon* is an attempt to pronounce the English, *whale bone*, an interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and been clothed with the glamour of antiquity.

[551] Such are still used by members of the ancestral family descended from *Taiatwala*.

[552] Related by Mrs. Webber, who had learnt it from her late father, *Snaxlaxila*, a chief of *Snaxl*, whose hamat'sa name was *Snaxlaxq*.

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Arma, two brothers, *Snaxʰākila* and *Miaī'sila*, with their sister, *Sdlslān·i*. *Älqunūm* had provided them with means of sustenance; *Sdlslān·i* brought cranberries and *Miaī'sila* a model salmon-trap, such as is used in salt water. The three had no house, but *Älqunūm* sent them some logs of driftwood from which *Snaxʰākila* constructed a shelter, which they called *Yastsūl* because it was made of flotsam. On the roof *Snaxʰākila* placed a huge copper with which the smoke vent could be closed, and immediately above the door a wooden loon kept calling incessantly. 539*

When they had been on this earth for some time *Snaxʰākila* became a shaman from the sight of a copper house that rose from the depths of the ocean in mid-channel. He paddled out to it in his canoe, climbed to the roof on a conveniently placed ladder, and went from the roof down inside. Then he discovered that it was the house of *Ḵ!emaqwa*, who was sitting in the middle behind the fire, his long hair protruding from beneath his huge hat. All around the walls were paintings of different denizens of the water world, and various creatures were sharing the house. As *Snaxʰākila* stood by the front door looking inwards he saw on his right a number of seals sitting around a small fire in one corner of the house. In the opposite corner, on his left, also by a fire, was a very old woman; in some unexplained manner *Snaxʰākila* knew that her name was *Nuiwanaix*. In the right-hand rear corner a man, *Nuiqual*, was seated by his fire, and in the remaining corner, by a fourth fire, was another man, *Nuuxemlaix*. *Xaqānt*, the Heron, was stalking back and forth behind the fire; as his dignified gait shows, he is a chief, and as such has the chiefly names, *Numelsdmut*, *ɛwappālsdjut*, *Änuxlmmdmut*, and *Änuxtelāmdmut*. Near the left wall, opposite the fire, was a large box, *Swulhāmāl*, containing heavy coppers, *tsḵanḵdmut*, and mice, which gnawed incessantly. A porcupine and a grizzly bear were playing together in the back-room. Halibut was lying outside the front door so that anyone jumping down outside leaped through its open mouth into its stomach. Whale was likewise lying outside, parallel to the front wall of the house. The totem-pole of this strange house was *Kdsta*, a supernatural ocean being. [551]

From his seat behind the fire *Ḵ!emaqwa* greeted *Snaxʰākila* in a kindly fashion. The chief wrapped some of his own hair around a stick and pulled, thus breaking off a few strands, which he gave to his guest. He then told him to take three names for the use of himself and his children forever: they were, *Tsḵanḵdmut*, the coppers, *Ämkpls*, the mice, and *Swulhāmāl*, the box in which these were contained. After spending a few hours with *Ḵ!emaqwa*, *Snaxʰākila* returned to land, whereupon a gale arose and the house sank beneath the waves. [551]

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*539 In course of time *Snaxhākila* became so wealthy that he was able to call people from far and near for a potlatch. He built a house identical in every particular with that of *Ḷomoqwa* as he had seen it. He bestowed on his children not only the names which *Ḷomoqwa* gave to him, but also [551] two which he took from what he had seen, *K̓ints*, the whale which was outside the front of the house, and *Ł̓ałiakas*, the significance of which could not be determined.

[552] These two designations have since been transmitted in this family, and now been bestowed on a dog, there being no children left.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tāl·io*[11]

In the beginning of time, *Ālquntām* sent down to this world a man, *Āl·imlsaix*, with his two sisters, *Ailsamka*, "The Abalone-Shell Woman," and *Alhlxda·istlliax*, "The One with Abalone on Her Hat." The three landed on an island several miles in circumference, formed of an enormous abalone-shell; its location is now unknown, but it was somewhere in the south, presumably not far from Vancouver. Here they dwelt for some time and began to construct a house for themselves out of the shell. All the time they longed to travel in search of a desirable place to settle, but they lacked means of transportation. At this juncture Raven appeared, and offered them a canoe if they would promise to use it. They readily agreed and presently the supernatural bird returned with one. It was a *sḵāmtsk*, one of the mythical monsters who live beneath the ocean and suck down small craft by opening their mouths.

Āl·imlsaix and his sisters embarked. They had decorated their hats and blankets with abalone-shell and took with them a large store of the same material. Raven perched on the bow and croaked whenever they drew near a landing-place. After travelling a considerable distance, they saw smoke rising, and presently noticed a house. *Āl·imlsaix* landed to investigate and found it occupied by a solitary woman, *Ṭ̓ałkwakilayałwa*; the place where she lived was called *Nagwdlax*, probably on Schooner Pass. *Āl·imlsaix* asked her to accompany the party as his sister (meaning here a non-marriageable female relative, not an own sister). She agreed after much discussion. The four continued their travels until they drew near Fort Rupert, where they saw more smoke. As before, *Āl·imlsaix* landed and found another solitary woman, *K̓wal'kila'yałwa*, whom he also persuaded to join the group as his sister. The five now passed on to Rivers Inlet, where Raven vanished. The others thought he had left them but, unknown to them all, he had entered *Ṭ̓ałkwakilayałwa*'s body. They paddled as far as the lake at the head of Rivers Inlet where they abandoned

[11] Related by Mrs. Schooner.

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their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bentinck Arm. 539*

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called *Tcākwaloɬɬ* because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural sight each of the five became a shaman. This house was a replica of the one above in which mankind was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. *Āl·imɬsaix* failed to understand them and in his annoyance scattered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the coast where each increased and perpetuated his own language. This is why the various coastal tribes have their own tongues; if *Āl·imɬsaix* had been able to understand them in *Tcākwaloɬɬ* there would be no diversity of speech now. [829]

Various dances were taking place in the rooms within the house. There was a constant din from the large whistles used in *sɪsaok* ceremonial which sounded of their own accord and were continually answered by Echo. Only at this place and at *Nusɬalɪt* did Echo appear to the first people; hence only the descendants of *Āl·imɬsaix* and of the *Nusɬalɪt* people have the right to portray him in their dances. *Āno°likwɔlsaix* (II, p. 8) stood near the door; when at last she called out, the *sɪsaok* whistles became silent as if in fear. [424] [535]

Continuing their journey the travellers reached *Tāl·io*, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, where a solitary man, *Nusxemda*, was living. At this place *Ɬlakwakilayakʷs* gave birth to Raven, who was born as a boy with the legs of a raven. *Āl·imɬsaix* named him *ɬxlqotlamsqwaxdjinas*. After a short sojourn at *Tāl·io* they ascended the river, and presently *Āl·imɬsaix* saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party as his sister. The bear accepted and he endeavoured to change the creature to a woman. He had fair success with the paws and face; that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of men at the present day, but the beast's hairy hide defied his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, wherefore grizzly bears at *Tāl·io* have never been known to attack a person. The party proceeded up the river to Mount *Stap'*, where *Āl·imɬsaix* found a repository (II, p. 8) through the discovery of which he became a Cannibal with the name *Snuɬkā'kɪs* and an eagle as incubus. From this point they returned to *Tāl·io*, where they settled permanently. [825]

Many of the names which occur in this myth are still in use. Mrs. Schooner's designation as chief is *Ɬlakwakilayakʷs*, a name that can be used by either man or woman; in the former case the suffix *yakʷs* is 551

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dropped. *Kwaï'hila'yokwa* is held by a Fort Rupert chief. Several *kusiut* names, with dances, were obtained from *Tcākwāloth* where the travellers saw them being performed; among them were *Ānudakānuts* and *Duduspux*, which are now used by two Bella Coola women. *Ailsamka* is now a Cannibal (II, p. 71) name. At *Tāl·io Āl·imlsaix* gave a *kusiut* dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from *Tcākwaloth*. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a shaman through seeing *Tcākwaloth*.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tāl·io*[34]

In the beginning, there came down to the Skeena River,[35] *Nusqāps*, *Nusxemda*, *Wiaqaii*, and their younger sister *Nulixwamankta*; they brought from *Ālquntām* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonials.[36] The three travelled all over the coast seeking a place in which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Tāl·io*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the din of the whistles, which drove away olachen and herring, so *Nusxemda* built a high, narrow mound of refuse, on the tip of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar; its door opened horizontally and used to close with a crash when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a *smnq*, whose keen ears could hear the wailing of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were like dogs and did not annoy mortals; they were servants to *Nusxemda*. One day he learnt that a raiding-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the *smnq* to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoes came in sight the two creatures reversed their eyeballs, causing a blinding flash which stunned the occupants of the canoes. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the *smnq* reversed their eyeballs with a like result. When this had happened several times the raiders withdrew discouraged.

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[34] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[35] It is not uncommon for the Skeena to figure as the place where some of the first people came to earth; but few descended nearer to Bella Coola than that region.

[36] This prerogative is less common among the Bella Coola than the Bella Bella.

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presents were distributed to validate the name, *Ťlaiyākam*, which *Sinuχ̌ut* had chosen for himself. 539*

Sinuχ̌ut married a Bella Bella woman who brought with her the prerogative of a dance with respect to the devil-fish. In Bella Bella this rite was connected both with the *kusiut* and the *ssaok*, but in Kimsquit it was performed only as a *kusiut* dance. It was first given there by *Łulqwan·i*, a relative of *Sinuχ̌ut*, and has since been performed in like fashion in Kimsquit. Their daughter received the Bella Bella name, *Xelāsu*, which has since remained in Kimsquit. [424] [575] [535] [551]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ăχ̌et·i*[40]

In the beginning of time there came to *Ăχ̌et·i*, on the east side of the Dean River, about one mile from the sea, *Sonxwāăkɪs* and his three younger brothers. They brought a stone hammer as their present from *Ălquntăm*. After they had lived some time on this earth, *Sonxwāăkɪs* asked *Yulātimut* to have a canoe ready for him on the morrow. By the next day *Yulātimut* had completed a fine craft. *Sonxwāăkɪs* was delighted and spent four days fitting it out; then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he knew by report that abalone-shells were to be found.[41] The four did not know the route and were constantly penetrating into fiords from which there was no exit; however, they persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered, *Sonxwāăkɪs*'s name being well known. After a month's voyage, they reached their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice falling sheer into the ocean with a cavern visible in it at very low tide. This they boldly entered. At first they were deluged with falling star-fish; in fact, their canoe would have been sunk by the weight of these if the youngest brother had not held up his cedar-bark cloak to ward them off. A little farther on they found countless abalone-shells, with which they swiftly filled the canoe, fearing lest the tide should rise sufficiently to prevent their return if they stayed to investigate further. Once safely outside they camped, and the eldest brother took the opportunity to bestow names on the younger brothers for things they had seen or done on the way. He called his second brother *Nuswin·ămχ*, "The Warrior," as if he had fought against the abalone; the third *Ălus·limăn*, "Falling Star-Fish," and the youngest *Ălusqox*, "The Roof-Maker," a reference to the

[40] Related by Jim Pollard. Boas (p. 60), has recorded a similar myth from Bella Coola with different characters.

[41] The Bella Coola are emphatic in stating that abalone-shell comes from the north or the east; possibly this may be explained by an indirect trade route. [487]

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the people of Kimsquit and the Dean River, and ever since then intermarriages have been common.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Siwal·os*[a]

Soon after the first people had reached this earth *Älquntäm* feared that as they increased, they might quarrel about land tenure. Accordingly he sent down to *Siwal·os*, on the Dean River thirty-five miles from the sea, three brothers, *Älquntäm*, *ɯyuyuyut*, and *Łäliäxsa*, a name in many cases used by women, with their sister *Sχaṗe·tl*. He gave the oldest brother instructions to divide the land among the different villages. *Älquntäm* came in the guise of a mountain goat, but promptly sent his animal cloak back to the land above, before starting downstream. To the inhabitants of each town he allotted certain valleys in the vicinity to serve as hunting-grounds, and told the people that these, and only these, were to be theirs forever. After reaching the coast, he travelled down Dean Inlet as far as the Bella Bella country, likewise allotting land to the different settlements, and marking each boundary with a stick. After finishing his task, *Älquntäm* returned up the Dean River to his brothers. The three built a weir that spanned the river, and in it they caught so many steel-head salmon that the Carriers used to come from great distances to buy from them. *Sχaṗe·tl* was married to a chief living on the lower part of the river, and her brothers, too, came below for their wives. *Älquntäm* ultimately moved to *Nusqäpts*, on the east side of the Dean River, twenty-five miles from the sea.

ɯyuyuyut had come from above in the form of a deer. After taking off this cloak, he released it as an animal, which became the ancestor of all the deer near Kimsquit. They did not like *Siwal·os*, where it was very cold, so they moved to *Nihtcɛks*, on Dean Inlet, about three miles below Kimsquit, and there built their town. Unfortunately, the snowfall was so heavy that they had much trouble in lighting their fires; sometimes as much as ten feet of snow fell in a single night.

"Please, *Łäliäxas*," said the deer, "don't keep falling on us."

In the language of men, *snow* is *kai*, and *Łäliäxas* means, "Copper One," but the language of deer is quite different. The snow, unmoved by their appeals, continued to fall, until at last the deer held a meeting and resolved to move away to the outer coast near Bella Bella, and never return again. They carried out this plan, and it is only within the last few years that some have come back, although for centuries none lived near Kimsquit.

[a] Related by Jim Pollard.

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*539 [551] The names embodied in this myth are still in use. That of *Noākila* was validated at a potlatch during the winter of 1921, after being dormant since the death of the eighth *Noākila*, an old man, which had taken place some thirty years previously.[50] To illustrate this myth a representation is made of the merganser canoe, a specimen of which, obtained by Mr. Harlan I. Smith, is now in the National Museum, Ottawa.

According to another version of this myth, *Noākila* and his party came to earth at Anaham Lake, in the country of the Carriers, bringing with them the steel-head salmon. They first went to *Stuix*, but *Noākila* did not like the place, so released only a few of the fish. They returned to Anaham Lake, and from there went to Salmon House. They found this spot so desirable that they settled and set free their store of steel-head [825] salmon. That is the reason why this fish is so plentiful in the Dean River, and so relatively rare in the Bella Coola.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sā·tsk*[51]

In the beginning of time *Älquntäm* constructed an abalone-shell covered post which reached from *Nusmāt·a* to *Älwolsqämus*, a mountain near the Kimsquit River, not far from its mouth. To this place came from above two men, *Smaoan*, "The First One," and his younger brother, *Omqomkilıka*. The former flew down as an eagle, but the latter, in raven form, swarmed down the post, which vanished after he had reached the earth. *Smaoan* spread his wings, like a mother bird, to shelter his younger brother. *Älquntäm* had given *Omqomkilıka* a box containing sockeye salmon, with instructions to throw them into the ocean, where they would increase rapidly to serve as food for him and his elder brother. He also taught the two how to build a salmon-weir to catch the fish. The brothers climbed down the mountain-side to the mouth of the Kimsquit River, where *Omqomkilıka* became a man and sent back his raven cloak above. He then released the salmon as he had been instructed, and also another present from *Älquntäm*, a *mätsqus* (I, p. 525), which was to serve as bait not only for fish but also for wealth and goods.

Smaoan declined to assume human form immediately, so began to travel, and his younger brother, sad at being thus left alone, started to

[173] [50] This was the only instance given of an approximation of the interval since the first peopling of the earth. The Bella Coola usually reply, "long, long ago," and have not questioned further. This myth was received from a reliable informant, but it is doubtful whether his statement concerning the "eighth" *Noākila* would find credence among most Bella Coola. Even if it should be the eighth, that would be of little value in estimating the period at which the Bella Coola believe the earth to have been populated, since names may remain dormant for generations.

[51] Related by Jim Pollard.

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potlatches,[1] at which he validated names for his children. One of these was *Äs·ɣänam*, the designation he had applied to his salmon-weir; it has been used by his descendants as a child's name ever since. As time went on, when his children grew into manhood, he obtained for them seats in the house and also procured wives for them. His eldest son, whose mother was *Sximäna*, had the names *Ɬäloxmän·a*, the meaning of which is unknown, and *Älusḳmän·aix*, "The Most Important of All Chiefs' Sons." *Smaoan* had arranged marriages for this young man with four women, but *Ɬäloxmän·a* was so ugly that only one of his wives, as ugly as himself, would have anything to do with him. His only real friend was a younger brother, *Älkexa*, aged about twelve years, who was his constant companion.

One day *Ɬäloxmän·a* became so embittered and disgusted at his own ugliness that he went away, determined never to return, and not caring whither he went. As provisions he carried only a goat bladder filled with goat marrow. This prevents hunger and is said never to become exhausted, no matter how long the hunter may be absent. *Älkexa* saw his elder brother depart, and decided to accompany him. *Ɬäloxmän·a* allowed him to come with him for about ten miles, up the valley of the Kimsquit River, where he shot some mergansers which he asked *Älkexa* to take back as a present to his parents. The younger boy was unwilling, nor could he be dissuaded from following, even when *Ɬäloxmän·a* told him he was going off to die.

So the two camped for the night, and next morning continued their journey up the valley of the Kimsquit River, a region then unknown. *Ɬäloxmän·a* was very sad at the thought of the hardships which his younger brother would have to endure, but he could see no way in which to persuade him to return. On and on they pressed, camping at night, their only food being the goat marrow which *Ɬäloxmän·a* carried. Far up the river they followed an affluent from the left, and from its valley climbed the bare mountain which, though they knew it not, is the watershed between the Kimsquit and Kitlobe rivers. Here, above the tree-line, they met a wolf. It lowered its ears, hummed, walked a few paces along a path, stopped, and looked back, as if it wished to guide the two wanderers. They decided to follow the animal which, once assured that

[1] Although the Bella Coola are sufficiently logical to demand an explanation for everything, once a belief has been formulated they cease to inquire whether it is possible. Thus, in all these accounts of the first people, the reader wonders how there were enough people in the world so soon after its settlement to make potlatches possible. Who were the musicians? Who formed the bulk of the guests? Such questions do not strike the Bella Coola as obvious; the stories have been handed down as facts, and they believe that anything was possible in those early days before man had lost his supernatural power.

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At this juncture someone saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the town. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As *Sä·lma* had said, *Łäloxmän·a's* three beautiful wives came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and massaged her until she became the most lovely of all. 539*

Smaoan, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of *Łäloxmän·a's* beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house for *Łäloxmän·a*. The name thus confirmed was *Spätcaldt*, "The First Born," a name given to *Łäloxmän·a* by *Kapsälopst*. *Smaoan* also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlobe people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time *Wisamkilak* bore her husband two more children. *Smaoan* continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name *Stältmx*, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. *Łäloxmän·a* did not wish to forget his Kitlobe friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was *Stältmx*, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlobe, first opened by *Łäloxmän·a*, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each knows of *Łäloxmän·a*, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, *Ätsqtutl* by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay the original marriage of *Wisamkilak*. [648] [582]

When *Smaoan* became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name *Łilixwnimut*, "The Scatterer." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the north in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [551]

The descendants of *Smaoan* enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a *mätsqus* on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. *Omqomkilka's* descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a *mätsqus*. The descendants of both 539* 424 [532]

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BC
* 539

he travelled the whole distance on a single billow, so asked to be sent on a four-billow wave. His canoe was a sea-lion's stomach, into which he climbed through the mouth and which he made watertight by tying up the entrance with the animal's entrails. Whether or not the creature was alive is not clear, but at any rate the man set off in the strange craft. He felt as if he were on the back of an animal which made long, easy, slow bounds; it was the slow surging of a gigantic Pacific comber. After four bounds he untied the neck and found himself at home.

BC
[552
551]

Certain names have been preserved from this myth. The name *Neqaqa* is now used by a dog, as the owner is the last of her family. Another name is *Ɬlaxamxmitl*, "The Crash," derived from the metallic sound of the closing door of the sea-lion house. The name *Namutsta* was also obtained inside the house, but the details of its significance are lost.

BB
539
BC
* 539
[178
424]

AN EARLY MYTH OF *Kɬdeɬ*[71]

As has been said, ambitious individuals, especially if they lack origin myths of the customary kind, sometimes claim ordinary stories as such. The following is almost certainly a case in point. It was obtained from an unreliable informant, who claimed it as a family myth, and said he had used it at a potlatch. He asserted that it was a Bella Bella story, transmitted through the marriage of one of his ancestors with a Bella Bella woman. Another informant, well versed in Bella Bella folk-lore, recounted another version of the same myth as a mere tale. There seems little doubt that the first narrator had merely laid claim to a common story to supply the deficiency of a true myth.

In the beginning, there came down to earth at the head of Gas Bay, *Kɬdeɬ*, a solitary man whose name was *Kāsān·a*. He was so lonely that he made for himself from soft punky wood a woman, dressed her in blankets and clothing, and gave her the name, *Ɫwa'lems*, which is in the Bella Bella language. *Kāsān·a* was a great hunter; every day he went out to seek mountain goats, which provided him with great quantities of grease, as well as yarn that he wove into blankets. Before leaving the house he always placed *Ɫwa'lems* in front of a loom, put food beside her and told her to eat as much as she liked and to work diligently.

[71] Related by Kimsquit Alec.

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BB 539 BC 539*

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Käsän·a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

Soon *Käsän·a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Käsän·a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sisaok Origin Myths

BC 773 551 575 [787] [556] [177]

As already stated, many *sisaok* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sisaok* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sisaok* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sisaok* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

The Origin of the *Sisaok* Name, *Spuxpuxɣä·mpdimut*[80]

BC 539* 609 424 BC [829]

About 1840, a party of *Xixais* Indians[81] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

[80] Related by Joshua Moody.

[81] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, *kusiut* dances

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MARRIAGE RITES

Y's family decide when the period of engagement shall be terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. Y's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As Y's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and Y's village are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When Y's relations decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that Y's father merely informs X's father of the date.

It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father sends a herald through the village calling out:

"*Q̓wimap*, ye chiefs! *Q̓wimap*, ye wives of chiefs! *Q̓wimap*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *q̓wimap* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the summons, X's ancestral name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ancestral names, as opposed to the *kusiut* ones by which individuals who own such are generally known. Red colouring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds smear their faces with red paint and the guests similarly tint themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of undyed cedar-bark, and cover themselves with eagle down.

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Älquntäm* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yetsalt*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stältumx*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 556 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Snuile·tl* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [424] [533]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Snuile·tl* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [186]

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

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551 with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with [553] that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

Ănäbsulläänämlaix, "The Resident Maker." In the beginning of time the wife of *Ťaiakwalą* had twins so often that [773] the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Ťaiakwala*'s descendants until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqomkilka*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 578 606 *Olliyaiyɔ*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nulałułaks, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nukokwixodjäx, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Kwiläxlaix, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 578 *Nunuaox'as*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nupłātłsikān, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *ɬɬaok* or *kusiut*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *ɬɬaok*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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tried to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them, then the donor of the rite distributed food and all departed. 586 626 837 796

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were often in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Tăl-ĭo* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly been the butt of a similar rite, with the remark: [302] [292]

"All *Tăl-ĭo* women have hairy pudenda like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were: [551]

Skulxes, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Emalxaik, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

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588 556 mate object. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes take the initial step, as is customary for the relatives of the husband in real marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducement, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that at a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble woman's name. If this is agreeable, the rite is carried out accordingly. The wife is in many cases a son of the person to [551] whom the proposal was made; he duly receives a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual designation will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the boy has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

556 608 858 Another business transaction of a similar nature is the giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold." This appears to be uncommon, and the only instance about which information was available occurred under the following circumstances:

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relations of the husband felt that they were being out-shone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold." Valuable non-returnable presents were transmitted as "soft

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"I am *Ánolxmdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756 787

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Thitcäplilän·a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ánolxmdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Thitcäplilän·a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. [553] The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Thitcäplilän·a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same malady as himself. [755] The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Thitcäplilän·a is known by many names, in accordance with her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. The following are some of the names received from her by shamans. [796] [553]

Saxsaxtwalpalaxslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was: [551]

"*Thitcäplilän·a* gave me (the name) *Saxsaxtwalpalaxslaix* with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick." [553]

Tämtämxlo·pxta. This has the same significance as the last. [551]

Nexnäx·mälaxaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire."

Ánolxmdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

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His Body." A shaman with this name does not use a rattle when curing.

Anupalsmut, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the movements of a shaman when he dances for curative purposes.

Kpāxpālkteamlaic, "The Revolver." This is derived from *xpālkteam*, to revolve sunwise, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Restores to Strength."

It is believed that *Tlūxpālūa·a* often uses her own discretion about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Anamlxdzoxm*, a male being whose sole function is to restore those whom *Tlūxpālūa·a* has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Tlūxpālūa·a*, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him[1] away to a locality in which a supernatural being was petrified in the beginning of time.

Although it is *Tlūxpālūa·a* who most frequently cures a sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural beings having done so. Little seems to be known of these, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with apparitions to the sick and, since in function they exactly resemble *Tlūxpālūa·a*, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

[1] The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the part of the person thus transported, if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit.

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suspend the bundle by ropes from a stick which projected horizontally from the wall. It was to these ropes that *Kalâkâ* tied the bangles, so that they jingled with every movement of the child.

Alpoomlee heard this peculiar noise from his house in the land above and sent a *Hkpmt-ás*, a diminutive supernatural being of human form, which lives on air, to investigate. The creature perched on the cradle rope where *Kalâkâ* saw it. Owing to his former life in the land above he knew what it was, and how to deal with it, so he quickly threw over it a blanket which he had frequently used.* This brought him supernatural good fortune. He concealed the *Hkpmt-ás* for safety in an old chequer-work root sack, and left it lying on the floor.

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Wealth flowed in upon him so that he was able to give a potlatch every year. At one of them he gave his infant daughter, the occupant of the cradle, the name *Hkpmt-ás*, which has been handed down from generation to generation, and has recently been given to a Bella Bella child. *Kalâkâ's* prosperity roused the jealousy of his fellows so that they murdered him, but his children still had the *Hkpmt-ás* and they continued to prosper. At last their enemies slew them too, sparing only one small boy.

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This orphan led a precarious existence. He was refused admission to what had been his father's house and was forced to live in the space between the floor and the ground below, while his food was taken from the refuse heaps. In time he grew to young manhood, frequently brooding on the fate of his relatives and hoping for revenge. One day he crossed the river, ascended a mountain, and found there a large cave, where he lay down to sleep, wrapped in a bear-skin. A supernatural being came to him.

"I have watched your woes," said the stranger, "and I will help you if you are brave. You must accompany me to my land. The road is dangerous, and if you should lose me it would be disastrous to you, so keep close."

They took a difficult path down through the earth to the land of the dead below.

"I will keep you here for a night and teach you," said the supernatural one as he gave the boy a stick in which was power.

"You must take this," he said, "and go at night to your father's house. Throw the stick at one of those who killed your father. It will rebound to you, after having your enemy dead without a mark on his body. Do this every night, killing only one man at a time, until you have slain all the murderers, but be careful not to harm anyone else."

Although he had not as first revealed himself, the being from whom

*A new one would have been useless.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the lad received this shaman power was *Sā'lma*. The boy spent one night in the land below, then returned to the village, carrying the stick with him. A whole year had, of course, elapsed since his departure, so the people suspected he had been trying to obtain power. When he did not display it at once, they jeered at him, but he said nothing. That night he killed one of his father's murderers in the manner which he had been taught, and did the same every night until all who had taken part in his parent's death had been disposed of. Thus he regained his father's house and became wealthy.

The orphan had not only become a shaman through the assistance of *Sā'lma*, he had also acquired the name, *Sā'tlamnūk-i*, carrying with it a *hasiut* dance prerogative, which has but recently been forgotten. The name was last used by the father of a man now living, but he disliked it on account of its similarity to the word for "death," *ō'lma*, and accordingly, altered it.[1] The *repositnoy* (II, p. 8) of the dance was the cave wherein the vision took place; it is still called, *rnawnā'lma*, "The Place of Death."

Kā'lākā'ā was not the only man to whom a *Hāqmā'ā* appeared in the beginning of time. One appeared likewise to *Tsā'lēmūsīs* (I, p. 312), in consequence of which the name *Hāqmā'ā* has also been preserved by the descendants of this first man. From that time until recently none of the creatures have been seen. Early in the century, however, a certain man saw one when undergoing treatment at the Hot Springs; and in 1920 a youth saw another at a cannery, but failed in his efforts to catch it. As there is a tendency for such creatures to appear only to those whose ancestors have seen them, and there is no tradition of such an occurrence in this lad's family, he was possibly mistaken. Perhaps he saw only a mouse which demonstrated its supernatural power by appearing in a peculiar form.

THE GOAT HUNTERS

Four brothers, the youngest of whom was named *Nāqaqaxā'ā-i*, used to hunt mountain goats in the upper valley of the river which enters North Bentinck Arm at Green Bay. In some unknown fashion *Nāqaqaxā'ā-i* realized that supernatural power had been granted to him, and accordingly determined to stay behind when his brothers went hunting. Every day the three went out after goats, but without success. They did not realize that this was because the youngest brother was keeping the dogs in camp by singing to them and giving them choice morsels of food. This went on for several weeks.

Then *Nāqaqaxā'ā-i* said, "You stay in camp today, I will try my luck."

[1] Such a change would have been unthinkable before white influences had broken down the ancient customs.

2: McIlwraith
103, 192, 551, 773, 776

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/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*.

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate

575* 575* 192 [776] 551 575* [124] 535 575* 796 [787]

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535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-
[551] bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

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*575 [424] [776] *Ano°likwolsaix*. They may be termed marshals of the society. Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly validated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* prerogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a non-member is over-inquisitive. If any member of the society *575 688 should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for [761] a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 • 551 [424] [553] Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Ano°likwolsaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwolsekmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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elaborate *kusiut* ritual which failed;

Namulsta, meaning unknown;

"The One who Guards the Ritual by Gripping with his Teeth";

"The Terrifier";

"The Dog-Toothed One."

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When a *kusiut* acts contrary to the interests of the society the marshals gather in the sacred meeting-place of the village, with other senior *kukusiut*. There is no definite order respecting who shall, or shall not, be summoned. The matter is discussed until unanimity of opinion is reached, although a marshal, particularly if he is also a rich and influential chief, is the guiding spirit. In *Nusqulxwaista* the supernatural being *Sikiliktnum* kills any supernatural *kusiut* who errs, so in this world it is always said that a verdict of death has been given by this being. Several of those at the meeting are sent out to lure the victim who, brought before the group, is told that he is to die. He is seized, thrown on his back, and a pole laid across his neck; two men sit on each end until the man is dead.[3] Sometimes less drastic punishments are meted out. About 1880, when the influence of the white man had become evident on the coast, a dancer who had been, theoretically, disembowelled and was supposed to remain for months within his house to recover from the operation, insisted on fleeing to Kimsquit to a woman with whom he was in love. When he returned to Bella Coola a meeting was held to decide whether or not he should be killed. Fear of the white men prevented summary punishment, but the marshals insisted that the offender submit himself to periodic scratching on the stomach with a nail so that it would appear to the uninitiated that he was suffering from a deep wound. The offender was thankful to escape thus lightly.

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[3] Occasionally the relative of a condemned person saves him by saying that he must not be killed. This means that the speaker is willing to die as a substitute; he is executed in due course, but the mechanism by which the diffusion of information is stopped is not clear.

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Ălquntăm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noăkxnum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[626] patron was *Noăkxnum*, but that the marshals requested him
[776] not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noăkxnum*
575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
796 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
[184] the *kusiut* dances begin.

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only slight variations, if any. In *Tcumotl* the *kusiut* who has the
551 prerogative of seeing *Noăkxnum* is a certain *Qaxolān·i*,[15] in Kimsquit, *Ălkuskinwasam*,[16] and in *Siskiutl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

[115] [426] [578]

[15] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxolān·i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[16] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

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*575 *796 424 539 him as guide. Both heard the beating, and soon saw a pack of supernatural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away without being observed and *Hai·alakila* told *Q̓älsmus* to say nothing about what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of the vision by which this dance had been inspired, were tremendously impressed.

Another exploit of *Hai·alakila* and *Q̓älsmus* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a forest suddenly arose before them. *Q̓älsmus*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Hai·alakila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *sḵämtsk*, with its ferocious mouth as doorway, and though *Hai·alakila* naturally feared to enter, he climbed to the roof, so that he could gaze within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Hai·alakila* reached inside with his pole, hooked forth one object after another and swung each across to his slave on the mainland to hide in a tree. Unfortunately, a canoe happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

*575 778 ●551 Mention might here be made of a *Stuxʷ* repository, said to be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal names. It is in the form of a human being with a tail, kneeling and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The names are:

Q̓itlia, the head of the creature; *Ănuximän·a*, the left hand; *Sinuximätl*, the right hand; *Älximän·a*, the left foot; *Xuximän·a*, the right foot; *Älquntäm*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a *mätsqus* with a copper lining to its mouth.

*575 *796 424 539 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain the *kusiut* society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances; they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account for established customs. For this reason they have been inserted after a description of the Cannibal dance.

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[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days.

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Täl·io* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year.

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess.

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land

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elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Älquntäm* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Onixwaltcua* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *kusiotem* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.[45] The following accounts are of the dances performed by a certain *Onixwaltcua* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, the being *Kulslkäkmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

[45] There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

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*575 his follower on earth can do the same. The ritual of *nebusam*
*796 of a Thunder dancer is accordingly identical with that of a
424 Mystery dancer. In the field an effort was made to obtain
[776] accounts of what had actually occurred at dances rather than of what should have happened; at the dance of Mystery, previously described, several of the usual features were omitted, and these were accordingly left out of the account. They will now be mentioned in connection with the dance of Thunder, but the fact must be emphasized that they belong equally to all *kusiut* rites in which the dancer has the prerogative of showing all supernatural beings, including Thunder.

[551] In Kimsquit the name of the *kusiut* having the prerogative of singing of Thunder signifies, "The Roarer," with reference to his patron. The native term could not be learnt. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

*575 The Thunder dance is of the normal *kusiut* type in every
*796 respect, so no account need be given of the ceremonial of the
776 first three days. Many masks are ordered on the night of *nusiutälsap* and these are ready early on *nebusam*. During that day the expectant uninitiated are excited to see the masked figure of *Ăno°likwolsaix* emerge from X's house, accompanied by a throng of *kukusiut* who chase all but members of the society back to their homes. Following them comes Thunder's herald, *Ălxwolätnum*, calling on all to prepare to come to the dance of Thunder, the leading *kusiut* of the supernatural beings. This messenger circles *Sonx"* to summon the supernatural ones to Thunder's dance, the reason that all can be shown at X's ceremonial. Immediately behind *Ălxwolätnum* comes *Ťloqots*, the Defamer, protesting that Thunder's dance is not worth attending since he, and he alone, is the senior *kusiut* of the supernatural ones. *Ăno°likwolsaix* adds her usual comments to the remarks of the two masked figures. This series of invitations and counter-invitations is repeated four times during the day, to the wonder of the uninitiated who peer out through chinks in the houses and around corners of the buildings. Sometimes *Ălxwolätnum* and *Ťloqots* pass from

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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tune previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

THE GHOST DANCE[91]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *äskankots*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Soptos* of *Tcimotl* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *qotlim* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *nebusam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

[91] No relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas.

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[The Ghost Dance]

X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximdt*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *Aliqmän·i* and *Nuxkmälsaix*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young man, *Łälaiuks*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwaläkmıs*; like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by men or women. It is said that *Łälaiuks*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kwaläkmıs* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *Sximsximdt*, but also of the being known as *Winwintmak*. Many masks are required at the *nebusam* of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sximsximdt* one year, and to *Winwintmak* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

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but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE[11]

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One of the forms in which *Ałquntäm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sınxälotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[12] were themselves protégés of *Ałquntäm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

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Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Ałquntäm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Ałquntäm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxołän·i* of *Tcmotl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

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Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme is of *Ałquntäm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Ałquntäm* himself, one of

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[11] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[12] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

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the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nuhuimăx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tcamotl*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiutănem:[11] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

The two *Aiqwaiust:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

The two *Snitsmăn·a:*[12] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

[11] *Asiutănem* is the usual term for *ghost*; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[12] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

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[The Moon Dance]

No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on either *nusiutälsap* or *qutlus*. On the evening of the former day the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutänem*, who appears to be confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiqusiust*, one for each *Snitsmän-a*, and one for *Ano'likwulsaix*.

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmän-a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiqusiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Ano'likwulsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Ano'likwulsaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Ano'likwulsaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmän-a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiqusiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was *Alkumetsaix*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *cumsk*

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names for his only son. Becoming surfeited with this form of greatness, he decided to initiate a *ḵuḵuxiut* ceremonial for his child. At that time chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and *Ałłemaxsałe* resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known to the Bella Coola as *Tsexsē*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone-shell. *Ałłemaxsałe* also buried in the hole a large number of the wasps which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the woman had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *ḵalaḵ*, "rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was henceforth known as *Ăwaḵaḵulslaix*. The *ḵuḵuxiut* also informed non-members that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to remain as a guardian of the repository. *Ałłemaxsałe* chose the name *Ḵeṗāxus*, "Sharp-Nosed," for his son, a reference to the sharp beaks of the numerous ravens shown on every object in his house. This designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as patron.

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In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to *Ḵeṗāxus* as X.

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *Ăwaḵaḵulslaix* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Stuix*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *Ăwaḵaḵulslaix* by the hand. She is disguised as an old, old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12).[1] She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *ḵuḵuxiut*

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[1] [See category 116, p 164 (F)- ANALYST]

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This ceremony is an example of the great diversity in *kusiut* dances. Instead of the usual patron in the land above, the slave woman is considered to be definitely located on this earth, at a spot near *Staux*. Moreover, the call comes through her actual appearance. The writer would have liked to learn further details of the dance, but they were unobtainable.

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THE DANCE OF THE OTTER

Since every Bella Coola has, at the present time, some sort of *kusiut* dance, it would have been possible to collect the details of a large number. Only the main outlines of the dances which follow were obtained, but it is hoped that the complexity of those already described will suffice to explain the scope of the *kusiut* society. In some cases the details were omitted to save time, in other cases the informant was ignorant of them. The latter reason is responsible for the sketchiness of the Otter dance.

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This ritual is the prerogative of a *Snulsli kusiut*, *Xwodjun-i*, "The Crash," a name which refers to the din when the first *Sonyʷ* collapsed in the beginning of time. Presumably one of *Xwodjun-i*'s ancestors was present at the fall and chose the name in consequence. The dancer's patron is the land otter, but the connection between this animal and the name has been forgotten, as the father of the performer frankly admitted. He suggested that probably one of his ancestors remembered having seen an otter before coming to this world, and chose it as patron for a dance which he instituted with respect to the name *Xwodjun-i*. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

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X can perform at any convenient period during the ceremonial season. When the call comes, the ritual of the first three days follows normally, except that the songs used are supposed to have been unaltered. Before *nakwaxw* the carpenters prepare a dummy otter, using a skin stretched over a wooden framework. A long rope is fastened to this and the figure thrown into the water so that it sways to and fro

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[The Dance of the Otter]

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below a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not observe these arrangements. About noon on subsequent days the herald go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the *hecioc* catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *hekecioc* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. In he dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen existing to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *hecioc* has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *hekecioc* women drum. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the frenzied beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from the dummy and often dampens several of the *hekecioc*. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

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It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of subscene, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

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THE OTTER DANCE

In the beginning of time *Sinaxoit* married a Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a *hecioc*

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dance with Octopus as patron. This was first used by *Lalpuwa-i*, a relative of *Sisaqoel*, and has since been the prerogative of the owner of the name, whom it will be convenient to term X. Being of foreign origin, there is no repository at Kimsquit; in fact, there is none even in Bella Bella itself where the *hecixa* society is believed to lack both localized power and ancestral authority.[20] The Octopus dance is thus the only one without a repository; so far as could be learned it is not performed in Bella Coola. In Bella Bella the original rite was connected both with the *nusuk* and *hecixa* organizations, but in Kimsquit with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during the ceremonial season, he consults the marshals and picks a suitable date. As this draws near, the carpenters are requested to make an octopus, sometimes using a real skin as basis. On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the bowl, close to shore. Suddenly the heralds raise the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X; the startled uninitiated flee from his house and the *hecixa* assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. From a distance non-members can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the *hecixa* struggling in the shallows strike each other's arms, and they have no hesitation in believing the heralds who report that a fight is taking place with a writhing octopus. At X at last bears his booty ashore, amid the drooning of the women.

That night the uninitiated are called to X's house where the dummy octopus, guarded by the dancer and several other *hecixa*, is placed behind the fire. Hidden strings have been fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive. One of the singers takes a baton and beats time, steps, and all the *hecixa* call out *i-----*. This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the octopus whence it came. This is done by pulling the body from sight, but of course the uninitiated do not know this. A

[20] This is, of course, a Bella Coola version.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on *haxiut* matters, there is neither guilow nor sukayem, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *haxiut* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *kuninum*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *sukayem* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *nuiemdimut*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *haxiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the story of *Alyuxnim*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

Tsyakmyl, the man who was petrified with his Owinx Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a Kimsquit *haxiut* man named Kmoxs. His repository is just above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite Tsyakmyl's station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

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[The Dance of the Stone Man]

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petrified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the water.

The preliminaries of *Kwaxa's* dance do not differ from those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a huge wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and smaller ones of his wife and four children. When the uninitiated are called in on the night of *nukwam* they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The marshals always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and tell him that he will die within a year. It is common knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief.

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THE FIRE DANCE

This dance is the prerogative of a *hamat* named *Wai:*, "Coho Salmon." Its origin is attributed to the experience of an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. Only a fragment of the ritual could be learnt, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with *hamatsa* rites. When *Wai:* performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two flaming sections; evergreen boughs and mud are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be baked, his singing is heard, and *Wai:* walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a dummy fastened with deer tendons which contract with the heat so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first *Wai:* was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon,

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but the *kuloxiut* all understand that later performances by those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration, they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Älquntäm* collects the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nusqwekotl* and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Qweta*. For the ceremony of this man's dance a huge circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sinqlominit*, "Darkness," he causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon as *Sintlema*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on ceremony figures with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Snaiaiaxumem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

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Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sninia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sninia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sninia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sninia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Allibaläxlaix*.

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mintlato·tnim*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsäl*, whose repository is near *Sätlia*. One of *Tsäl*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nəbusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

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with such powers that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out.

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alk*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *kusiut* names for more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *a'alk*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *kukusiut*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alk* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *kukusiut*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Scratchers when frenzied. It is said that even recently if the *kukusiut* did not invite the *a'alk* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present.

Sometimes the *a'alk*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *kusiut*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Kukusiut*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a profesional killer.

Success did not always come to the *kukusiut* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alk* were invited to a *qothm* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they

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Nusäxkämx Songs

The texts of *nusäxkämx* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types.

Song Used for Qalon(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

Qïsänaowitsïya	*sïhmsïtnäk!cïstsïya*	*sïtwimmïlnndai*
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,

dzïqulxyumdai	*dzqolnlaotsïya*
that hidden one(c),	Beaver.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Qalonï'i	*Qalonï'i*	*wa·nai·yai*
Beaver(d)!	Beaver!	*wa·nai·yai*(e).

(a) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nusäxkämx* rite.
(b) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *hasïat* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal.
(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.
(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

Axnnqdimqudaks	*lïqlwaxudas*	*tsqwïlmaqsïdas*	*alïxmaxïdas*
They heard	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin.
(c) As in many *nusïxkämx* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 488.

Song Used for W'amsqlais, a Kimsquit Man(a)

Lïlïxwaxïnïmx	*waxwaxqaqsïn·ai*	*waiqsïki*	*aqsïnaqs*
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there

nïnaqaalxnm	*qwïxdqïnxm*	*mamïx*	*mamïx*
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	!(c)	!(d).

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(*b*) *Xemtsk* came down from above with *ɯyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings.
(*c*) *Qulaiyu* likewise came down with *ɯyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xemtsk*.
(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten.

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4]

SHAMING SONGS

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *ɯaak* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions.

Song Used for Nɔ̄ɣuma(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Yēdzēdzēy	*dzēlima*	*Mɔ̄mɔ̄lɔ̄s*	*sīlwaimɔ̄s*	*dzēmɔ̄ɬsɔ̄ya'a*
Has too much	lusted	*Mɔ̄mɔ̄lɔ̄s(c)*	further,	he has taken with her

tsɔ̄lwɔ̄tsk-ɬsɔ̄mɔ̄	*dzēmɔ̄ɬsɔ̄ya'a*
my child, *Tsɔ̄lwɔ̄tsk-ɬsɔ̄(d)*,	he has taken with her(c).

[wordless chorus]

B Xēmɔ̄ɬɬēlēmɔ̄t	*xwɔ̄xwēmēmɔ̄mɔ̄k*	*ɬēlē tlēlēxwɔ̄lɔ̄t*
Be brave,	mothers(*f*),	when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

ɔ̄lɔ̄k-ɬɔ̄ɬɔ̄lwɔ̄mɔ̄	*wɔ̄wɔ̄-ɬɔ̄ɬɔ̄tsɔ̄kwɔ̄k*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and pendent.

[wordless chorus]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *Hɛ̄ɣɛ̄dzam* rite.

[4]Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

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*533 (*aa*) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.
[776] (*bb*) That is: *Tłaliakt'lak'* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of *Q!wina's* first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nain'akwa*, *Tłaowika'lis*, and *Tłäliatlis*, and of herself.
(*cc*) *Q!omoqua's* house, a reference to an incident in *Q!wina's* ancestral myth.
(*dd*) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.
[551] (*ee*) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nain'akwa* and *Tłaowika'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.
(*ff*) Referring again to the band of first settlers.
(*gg*) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinupsti(a)

A Yaa ka'ɛmaiɛdimqudax They(*b*) will presently inform(*c*)	*dɛnaläläɛtmk'ädäl* my dead relatives(*d*)	*yaaikäläskadnimodaax* when they reach
yaa alätɛwuuiqudɛtax the outer places(*e*);	*daɬukdjudjimultsdax* they(*f*) see(*g*)	*dualultɛmtlimdax* where they irst came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Kaa-amkalam-ɛmaiɛx I clothe myself with(*h*)	*aiyawamaiɛtalaläl* my ancestral myth,	*alwätälaiaoskidax* as it was
dɛɛdudjɛ-mskidax in the time	*päwuwaɬwum-älɛtskidax* of the *Nuwaɬmäl*(*i*)	*aiyäämtsai'aisudax* house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skämaläwäwumuuiɛmk Had just emerged(*j*)	*dzäqwaläwumɛttsaaläwadax* the place where our relatives get their food(*k*).	*tämitläwläsitl*
Aiyadawäntäqɛmx Thither went	*tsälhäläkdimaɛ-skidax* when it became dry(*l*)	*aiyawätkɛ-mx* *Wätkus*.
Siälkiyukläläwadax That is why	*dɛnɛ'aaqɛ-ɛmhläsl* all people, everywhere, know	*aiyaämän-ukslitl* of ur ancestors(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.
(*b*) Referring to *Wätkus* and his band, (I, p. 390). *Sinupsi* was descended from this group of first people.
[192] (*c*) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *Wätkus* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.
(*d*) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.
(*e*) Referring to Goose Island, *Yä'äläis*, where *Wätkus* lived.
(*f*) Referring again to the deceased.
[192] [775] (*g*) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

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B Nuyämhmlimilnk | *dinuslkäldinilsdai* | *dälqa̱ya̱m·idals*
They(g) sang | over my wash-basin(h); | they all watched over

ydulukwalätmm
my shaman's power(i).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Änuqwiklumilnk | *wanuslukwalästa* | *ämätqa̱milsaix*
Became open | the place of shaman's power(j); | there I saw

Ťlitcäplilän·alsaix
Ťlitcäplilän·a.

(a) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from *Ťlitcäplilän·a* about 1850. He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(d) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

[753 776] (e) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if *Ťlitcäplilän·a* or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

(f) The two choruses of this song have different tunes, an unusual feature.

(g) Referring to supernatural beings; this part of the song is worded as if *Ninilsamlaix* were speaking, and describing the time he was made a shaman.

(h) Reference to the wash-basin shows that *Ninilsamlaix* had the ability to cure the sick.

(i) The theme is worded as if supernatural beings had tended and brooded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(j) The reference is to *Nusmä·a* which, as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When *Ninilsamlaix* was at the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural ones conferring about his own fate, and gazed with joy at the departure of *Ťlitcäplilän·a* to rescue him.

● [551] [195]

Song Used by Sikwalxwlelxa(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b)

A Wilukstxilaxmy | *alyuwasa·ny"alx* | *dänuyämhmalim* | *alyälqämxämila*
It waved up and down | *Song"(c)* | when they(d) sang | of salmon(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sänuspuxlimilnk | *dinuslkäldinilsdai* | *älomäxm·älnandai*
They(f) placed eagle down | within the wash-basin(g) | where I was(h);

dinuk'ıäkum·ämqälldai
he(i) pulled me forth.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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C *Wastl·ixwainulîs* | *yao dislukwalalîsudai* | *dastlihmnalostis* 533* 756
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(*j*) | when it stood up
sawix·amxm·a·tlx·walî
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*k*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *kusiut* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tăl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *Ẍamxămila* is said to be the word for *salmon* in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Tlitcăplilăn·a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ănunitsktsum*, who restores to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Tlitcăplilăn·a*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman. [776]

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Tlitcăplilăn·a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [755]

[551] [776]

Song Used by Nexnăx·mălasais(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A *Ămtqexwiyuxwalî* | *wa·iutldlwamalî* | *ialuxsiut*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*), | wise one(*e*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Snuxlalpitialyămt'mk* | *stnutcyustumulwalî* | *ialuxsiut*
You must sometimes waken at night to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(*f*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Xstumyălwalîl* | *stnuxlăkt·amnudja* | *ialuxsiut*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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*533 756 [551] [776]

(*a*) "The One Who Dances Near the Fire." This is one of *T̈litcąplilăw-a*'s designations and, therefore, one of the names she gives to those she cures.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) As is often the case, the theme is worded as if *T̈litcąplilăw-a* were speaking.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to *Nuxnăx-mălaxaix*; such self-praise is a common device in songs used by shamans.

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the mouth is in connection with the way a shaman accompanies his song by furious clashing together of his teeth. *T̈litcąplilăw-a* herself does this.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

Song Used by Xmxmxălaix, a Kimsquit Woman(a)

A Sqapăxal'ailaxăs	*walukwalhkumxăl*	*xuyălplhkumxtxăs*
All(*b*) have given me	the power of a shaman;	give me mental strength

wa(y)wastixl
the good supernatural beings.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Nuquqilmilxka	*a(y)adisxyu-xy^{w}xdai*	*dimxtnaqumw-ălkxndăs*
They opened	*Sxay^{w}*;	they saw me

waqălkdjudxm-ălkxndăs(*c*)
as they peered down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It was used when the woman first danced as a shaman.

(*b*) This refers to supernatural beings in general. The song is worded as if the shaman herself were speaking.

(*c*) When a record was being made of this song, the singer forgot this subdivision and substituted for it the final one of the first part.

(*d*) It is said that there was no mention of a wash-basin in the third part and that, accordingly, the shaman had no power to heal the sick.

[551]

Song Used by Nuxuxmxămxm(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Yaa ăhaxstxălas	*ălxmxmălaxa*	*yaxa ăxaxmxălăs*	*xăxlxmkălja*
Hail! Mortals,	I(*c*) repeat(*d*);	I give life,	I am a learned one.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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B *Ălmrlălimaqo(e)*	*skăuălhmstnăumtlom*	*skuxiutsdomqdai*	593* 756
They measure when(*f*)	will be visible	my wisdom,	

skukwaleiyakais
my ability as a shaman(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten; it is said that in it there was reference to a wash-basin, showing that the shaman was able to treat the sick.

(*a*) "The One of Whom All Sick People Think," a name received from *Thlexplilăw-a*. [551]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 32h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*c*) Referring to *Thlexplilăw-a*; this part of the song is worded as if she were speaking.
(*d*) That is: I do as I have done before.
(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced this subdivision with the first of the first part.
(*f*) That is: They decide upon the time when.
(*g*) The reference is to the dramatic performance which marks his status as shaman; this part of the song is worded as if the shaman himself were speaking.

Song Used by Tsiwmdyleiy(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b) [551]

A *Aumxlimalaxa*	*dixuilhkstsiyutdai*	*diptsmoxaxp*
Is ready	my wash-basin(*c*),	I will use it

skăllamkdjut-am-ădjap
when you(*d*) come for treatment.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) "The Sleep-Giver," a name received from *Thlexplilăw-a*. [551]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 27h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie. In 1922 he was about seventy years of age and the song was used by his step-mother.
(*c*) This reference shows that the shaman had power to treat the sick.
(*d*) Referring to human beings in general.

Fragment of a Song Used by Nuxutsmmlmem, a Bella Coola Man(a)

Xmchăllaxhmălaudai	*yau dăluxiutsdai*	*alumxlhwmixtsdai*
Held me in his cupped hands	the learned one(*b*),	when he bore me

wuklmkdjutshwmixdi
to the place of treatment.

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

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Song Used for Snɣaxalitɣaw-a(a), a Female Bella Coola Sun(b) Dancer(c)

*533 *A Ẋaxaimxalitɬdɛkɛ | nu'ɛlɛxɬɛlɛw-itxaɬɛ | xɛ-xaɬɛlɛkw-ɛlimdɛɛ*
dixɬɛlɛpxɛɬɛlɛxpɛɛ

There was light above me when they(d) opened the very powerful thing for me(e).

[WOODEN CHEST]

B Xɛlwɛlɛdɛxaɬimɛlɛkɛ | dixɛpxaw-ɛxɛlimdɛɛ
Loud voices(f) are discussing his(g) multitudinous works(h);

dixaɬɛpxɛitxaɬɛlɛmdɛɛ | *dixaɬɛlɛkɛxɛlɛmdɛɛ*
when he stirred around | the water in the shaman's wash-basin(i).

[WOODEN CHEST]

C Wa'xaɬɛlɛxaɬtxaɬxaɬɛ | xɛ'ɛlɛlɛlɛlɛxɛlɛɛ | dɛlɛxɛlɛɛ-xw-ɛlɛmdɛ
yɛlɛxɛyɛlɛlɛxɛmdɛ

Snaxɛlɛlɛ(j) and his associates are immortal; they guard life. In the beginning of time they created *Ẋɛlɛlɛlɛlɛɛ(k)*.

[551] [424] [776] (a) This is a Rivers Inlet name, inherited by the present owner as a result of the marriage of one of her ancestors with a Rivers Inlet woman.
(b) According to a strict definition, *Snaxalitɣaw-a* is not a Sun dancer. Her patron is *Ẋɛpxɛɛm*, but she does not refer to him as *Snaxalɛlɛ*, Sun, but as *Snaxɛlɛlɛ*.
(c) This song was composed for, and used during the *hamat'sa* season of 1933-4.
(d) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(e) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.
(f) Referring to those of the supernatural beings.
(g) Referring to *Snaxɛlɛlɛ*.
(h) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.
(i) The reference is obscure. Allusions to wash-basins are usually found only in songs used by shamans; it is said that the dancer had a prerogative of that nature in Rivers Inlet, and insisted on it being mentioned in her *hamat'sa* song. This is contrary to Bella Coola custom.
(j) The dancer's patron.
(k) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions. *Ẋɛlɛlɛlɛlɛɛ* is a supernatural being with the ability to revive animals; little is known of him and he may be a Rivers Inlet being.

[424] [776]

Song Used for Ẋɛpxɛɛmxɛlɛlɛɛ, a Bella Coola Moon Dancer(a)

A Yaa-xɛɛ-ɛxɛɛmxɛɛɛlɛkɛ | dɛlɛlɛxɛlɛɛxɛɛlɛmdɛɛ | yaa-xɛɛ'ɛxɛɛlɛmxɛɛ
I was surprised at what was told to me; it was too much, it [illegible]

xɛɛxɛɛlɛɛxɛɛ
the descending supernatural being(b).

[WOODEN CHEST]

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*593 C *Ka'asxwmâlosqwi'nndax* | *Tlâkwakilasudax* | *alalâliasudax*
Is like a fire | *Tlâkwakile*(g) | the copper of(h);

ski-kpâlumqwi'nndax | *gdukukpiyasudax* | *aiahukiadjidax*
has carried him round(i) | his grandfather | *Nukiadji*(j).

(a) Recorded as songs VII D 5 and VII D 6a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. VII D 5 is a two-minute record, and as the song was too long, the last part of it was concluded on VII D 6. This resembles an ordinary mourning song, and is said to have been used formerly as one at Kimsquit. During the season of 1923-4, however, it was used at a *husiut* dance given by *Łaiał'nimut*, son of the deceased *Yâkutlas*.

(b) Referring to the dead *Yâkutlas*.

(c) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these six subdivisions, and even the free interpretation may be inaccurate.

(d) That is: *Yâkutlas* wants the best. The meaning is that the dead man is seeking out the finest elements in his ancestral myths.

(e) Referring to a house at *Nuxalxt* used by his first forefathers; it had the power [773] of expanding so as to provide room for all who came to potlatches.

(f) The name of the house. [551]

(g) A Bella Bella name owned by *Yâkutlas*.

(h) That is: The copper of *Yâkutlas* is bright and gleaming like a fire. The reference is to a copper mentioned in the deceased's ancestral myth; the article furbished itself in delight at the sight of one of its first owner's ancestors. Such boasting remarks are frequent in mourning songs.

(i) In the sense of: Around the places where his first forefathers ranged.

(j) That is: His grandfather, *Nukiadji*, carried him around the scenes of the experiences of his first forefathers. *Nukiadji* was a Kwakiutl chief.

Song Used for Sisyaw-a, Combined with Mourning for Yâkutlas(a)

A *Sumłqwaidjustalaistâlali* | *a'lkpqwaidjustâli* | *dzatlpâlalpalis*
I was careful, I watched myself, when I felt strange(b); I rose above the ground(c) when I reached(d)

alaxhâsiutas
the repository(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[551] B *Skamâlpalaiaxhmqa'* | *yudzaxiaxdzutdis* | *yudzaxaldimaxnudis*
As soon as he saw | *Szaxiaxdzut*(f), | the lordly mountain(g)

yas dâlâpâlasimdis
illuminated itself(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Naxalpâlaxmqalaxsil* | *ainâs alax'naxil* | *nududzu-ilmâlâsi*
Rejoiced | *Łaiał*(i); | she welcomed him(j)

laiaxkwalâlâlâsdas
to the expansible house(k).

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 19a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4; the exact relationship of *Siyman-a* to *Yäkutlas* could not be learnt. 539*

(*b*) *Siyman-a* was being initiated into the *kusiut* society and this part of the song describes, for the benefit of those who were not members, her experiences when she discovered her repository. The theme states that she felt peculiar when she reached its neighbourhood.

(*c*) An expression inserted to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) Individual translations for these three subdivisions could not be obtained.

(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the performer erred and substituted for this subdivision the following:

ălmuxsiwaxsdi
where I went.

(*f*) One of the names of *Yäkutlas*. The theme here changes to the usual mourning type, describing the experiences of the deceased. [551]

(*g*) Referring to Mount *Swaq* near Kimsquit.

(*h*) This mountain is said to have been an active volcano within the last century and a half. The first ancestors of *Yäkutlas* landed upon its slopes, hence the mountain became wrapped up with their fortunes and showed its delight at welcoming one of their descendants.

(*i*) That is: *Qälmo* rejoiced. She was one of his first ancestresses.

(*j*) That is: *Qälmo* welcomed *Yäkutlas*.

(*k*) A house which figures in the origin myth of *Yäkutlas*. It had the ability of expanding to accommodate as many guests as assembled. [773]

Song Used for . . . . . (a), Combined with Mourning for [illegible](*k*)

A *Hē'axsēmaxdjē* | *ăksiaiwălitsdai* | *dzgwălēmaxlaxdai*
I(*c*) was in trouble, I was in fear, when I saw illuminate itself(*d*)

Kwēdzēlēlaxdai
the place of petrified power(*d*). [773]

[illegible]

B *Kēwdzaxsēmaxgwēlaxdai* | *Kwēmaxwēnaxdaxs* | *ăkxa walaxs gyōx*
Is now established(*d*) | *Kwēmaxwēnaxdai*(*g*) | *ăkxa* at the place of

ăkdēmaxsēmaxlēdaxs
his established name(*k*).

[illegible] (*l*)

C *Kēmqēlēlēlaxwēgwēlaxdaxs* | *yax dzaxsēmaxsēdaxs* | *ăkxi hēlēlgwēgwēlaxdaxs*
Welcomed him(*j*) | *Dzaxsēmaxsēdai*(*k*) | and guided him around

ălēgwēlaxsēmaxlēdaxs
the places of his crests(*d*).

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

a large cave in the vicinity where the hunters smoked the meat and boiled down the grease and marrow, but they had killed so many that it was January before their task was completed. Meanwhile the smell of flesh had attracted a number of martens which were caught in snares; in fact, they captured enough for two blanket-robes. When ready to leave for home, they prepared snow-shoes and on these safely negotiated the deep drifts and reached the village where all hope of their safety had long been abandoned. *Ätsaxumtsum* arrived at dusk and heard his parents weeping and wailing; he asked who had died and found that they were mourning for him. His safe return turned their lamentations into rejoicings and a herald was sent out to call in the villagers to share the good news. When finally packed in, there was enough goat meat for an elaborate potlatch.*

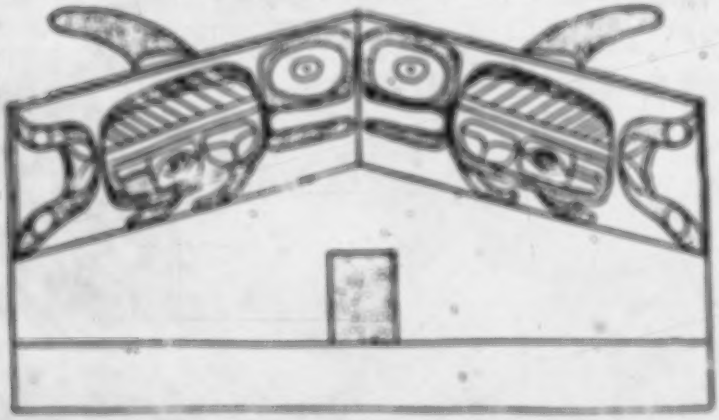
A year or two later, four men prepared to set out one afternoon to fish for trout. As they were leaving, *Ätsaxumtsum*'s young son begged to be taken along and cried so piteously that they at last consented. So they wrapped him carefully in a goat-skin blanket, and placed him in the bottom of the canoe which they paddled about six miles upstream. They landed on the bank, cooked a meal, and dried black spruce branches over the fire to serve as torches to lure the fish within range of their spears. When night had fallen, they began to drift downstream, one man holding aloft a brand while the others speared. They had fair success, but nothing noteworthy occurred until, as they neared *Nuqkit*, they saw white on the water, and paddled slowly forward, thinking it must be a huge flock of swans. As they drew nearer they saw that it was snow; a huge slide had swept over the village and blocked the channel of the river. The water, no longer able to flow seaward, was swirling back to the east, and the fishermen drifted with it until they found a place to camp for the night with their young companion.

As soon as it was light, they returned to the scene of the disaster and found a deep bed of snow over the site of the village. They landed to investigate, and called repeatedly, hoping that some at least had escaped. At last they heard an answer and began to dig, imagining that it must be *Ätsaxumtsum* himself. After excavating a deep hole, they exhumed the sole survivor, a slave who had escaped by covering with a copper the

* We will be noticed that there are many points of similarity between this story and the one in vol. II, p. 111. It is possible that they are versions of the same accident, but it seems more likely that they refer to different incidents of which the principal character of one has been forgotten. In such cases the Bella Coola, believing that individuals with the same name often have the same characteristics, frequently give to the hero of an earlier incident the name of a person who has figured in a similar one within recent years.

614 583 [55] The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of Nuk'ulk'ulis (would water in bow), a member of the Isk'ulkulit gens, whether he might marry a Gyaisk'ik woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

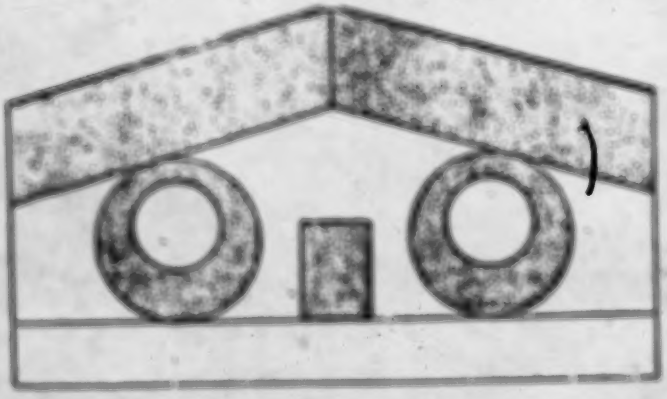
FIG. 1.—House-front of the gens Tsk-at'a.



[592] [532]

Members of the first two gentes, he explained, later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

FIG. 2.—House-front of the gens Tlok-nem'ut, representing the moon.



[592] [532]

this by stating that Isk'ulkulit's son married Gyaisk'ik's daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

614 The gentes have totems similar to those of the neighbouring coast

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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repugnant. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sīsaoa'ka. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nesk'e-la'ēla, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Łak'ainīxit of the Talio'mut, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kī'xīt name, which remains the same throughout life, and a Qī'xtōtan name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nesk'ela'ela's (which is his Kī'xīt name) present Qī'xtōtan name is Aī'ōlmaxa'lax'sīt, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kaīx'la. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kī'xīt names of the gentes. In two cases only the Qī'xtōtan names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sīsaoa'ka secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sīsaoa'ka secrets to her husband, so his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sīsaoa'ka secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sīsaoa'ka carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the sacred headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debt becomes due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person to a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in the end. Should that man be dead, and his heirs are responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kī'xīt is punished even by a female spirit, called Aoxsīkūmi'x. She dwells in a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Aoxsīkūmi'x invited her into her cave and taught

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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575 her the secrets of the Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k. When a man has
776 seen Anaɬlikūtsai'a sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's-husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisaʻkn dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[426] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k is obtained through
[551] an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pūpē until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of T'lakɛ'ɛ̄l.

I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[552] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisaʻkn, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ɬaqō'ɬa (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lɛq (the Nū'tsmɛ̄t of the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'ɬa (the Nō'tsistɛ̄l of the Nū'tsɛ̄k). These grades are also hereditary. A Kʷɛ'sɛ̄k novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the ɬaqō'ɬa is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sea, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any-
one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the ɬaqō'ɬa. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ɬaqō'ɬa order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sea,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

751 [illegible] the natural
98 the culture of this tribe have changed [illegible]. During their monthly
424 periods women [illegible] to the region. The bark is afterwards
burnt in the woods. The source of this fire is believed to be primitive.

177 It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Kwakiutl. This influence has been so
deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
536 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl suffixes. Thus
575 the name Ā'nemā'lōxs (see p. 418) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning "good all
716 over the world." K'wāx'wēlā'lōxs is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
"the rich one of the world." The chief's name, Sēlā'xsīlaē (see p. 407)
771 belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Shamanistic
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Kwā'g'ul,
Haēlq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[Separated from pp. 926-949 and renumbered]

are my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the gens hintsiant of the Tsimshian, stated that he had received the name when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires new secrets, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a private name, which remains through life, and a ceremonial name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Neel'ahlah (which is his private name) Sī'wenoo now has Ax'hemoo'hetgit, but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kalē'tsa. These names are the property of the various clans, and can belong to one person. When a man possesses several clan's secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of that clan's secrets to her husband, so his children rank as a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his clan's secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the clan's carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must buy his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the horn rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The nephew of a person becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debt becomes due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, the heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not observed, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed the act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person to a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man [illegible] at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in the crest. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The harpoon is presided over by a female spirit, called Gwēlhaq'ā'ts. She abides in a cave in the woods, which she leaves about from February till October, consisting of the white moss. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Gwēlhaq'ā'ts invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the harpoon. She was ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair shaven with eagle down. She commanded the

0/Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1950)/017
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women to dance in the same way as she was her dowry. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the hiłaim. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the hiłaim.'

Ever since that time the Hiłaitła dance the hiłaim. When a man has seen Awatkhiwa'i sitting in front of his door, he will invite the people to a hiłaim. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the latter house. Each hiłaim lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the hiłaim are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the clan's dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may exhibit the dance at the ceremony which he at any time. Membership of the hiłaim is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his hiłaim name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pi'qa until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Qłaqłaq. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation. It seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the clan's, the initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the hiłaim have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Hiłaitła (the 'drowned' of the Q'waiwai), the Hiłaitła (the 'drowned' of the Q'waiwai), and the Hiłaitła (the 'drowned' of the Q'waiwai). These grades are also hereditary. A hiłaim novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the Hiłaitła is initiated, he goes into the woods, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and [illegible] he has to [illegible] which kill a second the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Hiłaitła. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Hiłaitła eater devoured one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. From the latter was led up and left to fall. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears